

PROD

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1. IN THE NEWS

Francis Carney (U. of Calif.) and Philip Wilder (Wabash) became first pol. scientists to serve as annual special consultants, respectively to Demo. and Rep. parties under Citizenship Clearing House Program. SSRC announced summer research training institutes on analysis of voting behavior (June 23-August 15, 1958, at SRC, Ann Arbor) and judicial process (July 7-August 22, 1958, at Madison, Wisc., under C. A. Auerbach, U. of Wisc., and W. H. Beane, Princeton).--E. Finley Carter, Director of Stanford Research Institute, appealed before JEC of Congress for "research on our research effort, to be sure we make the right decisions;" he compared millions of dollars a bomber costs with limited funds State has "to find out how the other fellow behaves." C. D. Leake, Com. on Social Aspects of Sci. (AAAS) wrote to N. Y. Times that his group "is already studying... radiation hazard, attitudes of authoritarianism, pollution of airs and waters, overpopulation and food supplies." Dean V. L. Parsegian of Rensselaer PI said on Dec. 15 U. S. lags in scientific progress because "we have not yet achieved a governmental system which is adequately strong and still suited to the needs of a free society"; he attacked secrecy procedures: academic scientists "do not even know what are the specific basic bottlenecks of the key projects."--Deans Barzun (Columbia), Gordon (Toronto), Hobbs (Duke), and Elder (Harvard), Com. on Policies in Education of the Assoc. of Grad. Schools, deplored slowness and uncertainty of Ph.D. education, asked for "rehabilitated" M.A., provided detailed prescriptions.--Pres. McKinley (Fordham) proposed research center on mass communications to Catholic Apostolate of Radio, Television and Advertising.--Dean Warren (Columbia Law) in annual report warned against "the promise of enhanced prestige or temporary financial advantage implicit in many research projects," saying projects "conceived outside the doors of a school" may harm education.--"The Free Society" program is now principal activity of Fund for the Republic. Major subjects (and staff members) are "The Corporation" (W. H. Ferry), "The Individual and the Common Defense" (Walter Millis), and "Religious Institutions in a Democratic Society" (John Cogley); outside consultants will probably assist the Staff members, as well as Com. of Consultants (A. Berle, S. Buchanan, E. Burdick, E. Goldman, C. Kerr, H. Luce, J. C. Murray, R. Niebuhr, I. Rabi, R. Redfield).--Ford Foundation's behavioral sci. program ended with grants that included \$5,000,000 for Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences. Johns Hopkins received \$750,000 for Dept. of Social Relations. \$500,000 was given CED for studying money and credit facilities of U.S.A. F.F. is now pushing "creative arts," scientific and engineering education, teacher education, metropolitan studies, youth development programs, gerontology.--National Science Foundation's latest report, Basic Research, slipped in a plug for social science by describing Bavelas et al. work in group dynamics. NSF is spending \$600,000 uneasily this year on social science under rule: no sex, no religion, no politics. Out of hundreds of projects listed in NSF's latest report on who gets what in research from all Fed. agencies, only one is in "political science."--On Dec. 20 the NEA proposed \$4.6 billion annual fed. aid program within 5 years, with \$160 millions for 80,000 scholarships and 15,000 fellowships.

PROD WELCOMES YOUR IDEAS AND NOTES: Address Alfred de Grazia, Managing Editor, 306 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. Karl Deutsch and R. C. Snyder are Consulting Editors. PROD's Correspondents include Chilton Bush (Stanford), Journalism; David Easton (Chicago), Political Philosophy; Ben Gedalecia (BBDO), Communications; Harold Gosnell (American Univ.), Federal Gov't.; Benjamin Nelson (Hoffstra), History; James Prothro (Florida), Southern Region; N. Ukai (Tokyo), Japan; F. L. Cavazza (Il Mulino), Italy; and Carl Stover (Brookings), Washington, D. C. Area. Staff: E. Lanfeld (Ass't. to Ed.), Ted Gurr, Jack Childers, et al.

2. The Local Press and Academic Freedom

In the summer of 1955, I was asked by Paul F. Lazarsfeld to examine the adequacy of communication in the interviews he had conducted that spring (through Roper and NORC) with some 2500 social scientists at 165 colleges and universities--interviews designed (on behalf of the Fund for the Republic) to examine professors' experiences with, and apprehensions concerning, academic freedom.¹ Through this assignment, I had the opportunity both to examine the original interviews and to visit, with my colleague Mark Benney, some thirty colleges (including a few, for comparative purposes, not in the original sample) and to talk in all with several hundred professors. These talks were in turn the basis for a mail questionnaire, to which we received 450 replies (a 55% return). As a by-product of this work, I became more and more struck with the importance of the press, especially the local press, in helping to maintain the climate of freedom at some institutions and in helping to destroy it at others.

In our mail questionnaire, we included a checklist asking about a number of potential pressures on faculty members; we included religious and ethnic groups, the local legislature, the parents of students, fraternities and sororities on campus, as well as the student paper and local media. One-quarter of our respondents checked one or another of these media, as compared with 18% who checked religious groups (our interviews indicated that this usually referred to Catholics, at least in the North), 15% who felt the parents of students influenced the climate of freedom, and 10% the public relations department of the college itself.² In our mail questionnaire, and in our talks with professors, we had many topics to cover, and could dwell all too briefly on the role of the press; thus, we had no question concerning magazines of national circulation, nor about network television; we concentrated on the local scene.

And we learned, understandably enough, that where the local

1. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958). In May, 1956, I wrote Professor Lazarsfeld a note on which this article is based; my further pursuit of these matters has been aided by a Carnegie Corporation grant for the Study of Higher Education.
2. The detailed figures as to the press follow: 10% checked the local secular press, 3% the local religious (usually diocesan) press, 2% the local ethnic press, 6% the student newspaper, and 4% other local media. All sorts of limitations and ambiguities haunt such data: the problem of the non-responders, the hidden meanings of those who did respond, the suggestiveness of the check-list itself as "leading" respondents, and so on. By checking "college fraternities and sororities," some professors no doubt meant to indicate that these were centers of campus anti-intellectualism, without meaning that they actually took organized political action (along the line of student Pro-America groups) to interfere with the faculty's freedom of expression in the classroom. They might similarly have checked the "college athletic department," if we had had a question on that. Thus, these figures are presented merely as leads to further study, suggestive at best.

press took a vindictive, McCarthyite attitude toward the college, liberal and apprehensive professors would often be quite sensitive to its tone, whereas when the local papers were supportive of academic freedom, professors of similar outlook would not spontaneously mention the press as a factor in their situation. We decided to begin to sort out variables by comparing atmospheres of freedom at a few State universities, located at the State capitals, universities which received very different newspaper coverage (and we drew here on our general knowledge rather than on data gathered in the survey).

Take, for instance, the situation at the University of Wisconsin where Evjue's Capital Times supports the liberal point of view in contrast with that at Ohio State where, according to a number of professors, the Columbus Dispatch has been aggressively on the warpath for any signs of academic "subversion." And consider the outlook of a reactionary member of the faculty at Wisconsin who feels (as professors of whatever stripe at times almost enjoy doing) oppressed by the liberal colleagues who surround him. Reading the paper, he feels only the more isolated; he may become cranky, but he is unlikely to raise his head in violent disputation or to organize (as professors have done at several places) students to spy on liberals and to report on them. He would feel such action hopeless, and, indeed, since he is not all of a piece, Evjue will get under his skin a bit and engender misgivings and even guilt, much as he may detest the paper. In contrast, the reactionary at Ohio State may feel defended by the Columbus Dispatch against what I

myself would regard as his better academic self: the paper will assist in providing the rhetoric by which he can justify his dissociation from his liberal colleagues, and the indignities he may privately heap on them. Correspondingly, the latter, already apprehensive in the glare of national attention, e.g., from Congressional committees, will be constantly reminded by the daily paper of the precariousness of their position. Or, more to the point, the paper will justify their selection from the stream of reportage of these elements which give a basis for foreboding and caution. And, by the liberals' not speaking out, the conservatives of the campus are not challenged, nor the reactionaries spunkily told off.

Of course one must make a number of qualifications to any such generalizations as these. The liberalism of the Capital Times is effect as well as cause of the liberalism at the University. This is indicated, among other things, by the fact (pointed out to me by Professor Ralph Nafziger of the Journalism School there) that the other Madison paper has not tried to make its way by a reactionary attack on the University --but has rather gone along with the general tradition of admiring it. And this tradition has ancient roots in the history of the State and in the long experience of the faculty--experience in organizing to defend its rights and privileges dating back to before World War I and even to the Ross case. Furthermore, the University of Wisconsin, like that of Minnesota, combines the A & M and other service functions with the liberal arts college and graduate school, while in States where these func-

3. I cannot stop here to enter into all the complexities of this protective function. At Minnesota, for example, I have been told that the distinction of the University's medical school means more for the general power and position of the University in the State than all the county agents who rally round the agricultural school can accomplish. And

tions are divided (as in Michigan or Iowa) the service departments do not build up a reservoir of patronage and good will on behalf of the less solidly entrenched "academic" side. Undoubtedly, detailed scrutiny of the Wisconsin case would turn up many local and idiosyncratic factors to explain why, in McCarthy's home State, the university has remained a relatively uninvaded stronghold of assured intellectual freedom. But I do believe that the Capitol Times, along with the civilized Milwaukee Journal (and, to a lesser degree, a student paper, the Cardinal, usually run by liberal students⁴), have had a part in this result.

The Capital Times is, of course, a Madison "institution," and no doubt a faculty member in reading it, whatever might be his personal views, is aware that his colleagues, President Fred, and other members of the relevant community are probably reading it, too. A university itself, however, may be such an institution as to dwarf its local press. Thus, Harvard, with its arrogance of social position and tradition, its national setting, is not too much weighed down by the reflection of itself in, let us say, the Boston Post; the faculty, though aware of local bad feeling in a general sort of way, does not scan the local papers with the anxious thought that President Pusey or the Harvard Corporation will read them, too, as monitors rather than nuisances--indeed, the members of the Corporation are more likely to

read the Herald-Tribune (as a serious guide to other things than movies or sports) than any Boston paper. Likewise, in the climate set during the regime of the gaily arrogant Hutchins and since, University of Chicago professors have been able to read the Chicago Tribune with amused scorn as well as moderate dismay: they have known they would not be called on the carpet for anything the Tribune said about them or the University.

As against this, I gained the impression that the more politically vulnerable faculty members at Ohio State read the Dispatch with the sense that everyone else in Columbus--the administration, the regents, the assembled State legislators--was reading it (everybody reads the Bulletin!), but not for laughs. The local paper, that is, spoke for a climate of which other evidence was also present, as in the famous "gag" case at the University, or the awareness that former Senator John Bricker was a Regent. Indeed, I have often been struck, in cities the size of Columbus or even larger, by how a leading paper can set the tone of the whole city, by reflecting its elite, whether liberal or reactionary, to itself and to the entire community. It could legitimize outlooks and decisions as well as register them. In my limited observation, the freedom of the University of Louisville has been sustained in this way by the outspoken light and leading of the Courier-Journal--

the general ethnic balance in the State of Minnesota helps create a climate within which the University can feel reasonably free of parochial pressures.

4. Examination of student papers at the colleges we visited, and talks with faculty members about them, confirmed our previous impression that they were usually in the hands of the more cosmopolitan and liberal students (in many cases, Jewish and often "barbs," i.e., non-fraternity members). Professor Abraham Kaplan at UCLA reported a surprising contrary instance, of a student paper which welcomed the Tenney Committee's investigation of "subversion" at the University and which hence gave the faculty a shocked sense of isolation even from the vocal student minority.

its general literate and intellectual quality as well as its specific deficiencies on questions of intellectual freedom. Of course, there are cases where the local paper is neutral or anemic; such a sheet may regard the local State or municipal university as it regards any other large payroll, i.e., with benevolent attention to its hand-outs. I have the impression that something like this is the case at Ithaca: Cornell, that is, is distinguished enough, and sufficiently well regarded throughout the State and nation, to dwarf the Ithaca press, and in all probability the Ithaca community as well. In contrast, I have the impression that the University of Illinois has not been similarly well defended against the press or the viewpoint of Champaign-Urbana, especially since some faculty members of conservative bent and local origins have aggressively shared that viewpoint; indeed, when a university is under pressure from "home-guard" or localistic sentiment, a newspaper that reflects or moulds that sentiment may carry an impact, though its circulation is small and does not include many regents or State legislators.⁵ The newspaper, as I have indicated, says to the professor: "Relax, you are among friends (even if there are enemies outside)"; or it says: "Even in your own community, where you may have thought you had friends, you are surrounded by allies of Senators Jenner and Eastland."

In many cases where the college or university is in a small

town, the significant press is located elsewhere--thus, the Omaha World-Herald probably matters more than the Lincoln press to the climate at the University of Nebraska, just as the liberal Cowles paper in Des Moines, the Register and Tribune, blankets the State and counts for more than the local papers in Ames, Iowa City, or Grinnell. And national media are obviously important: they can rescue or admonish, depending on the selectivity or apprehensiveness of the faculty (factors which in turn, in an endless web, are related to the previous impact of the media). But it was striking to us that it was print which mattered most: in not a single one of our interviews was local radio or television mentioned as an important force; and, although such network names as Fulton Lewis, Jr., crop up occasionally in the interviews, it was clear that it was the press that mattered; all the rest appeared to be writ on water.

(In none of our interviews did respondents bring up the local radio and television stations spontaneously. When asked about these, they usually had little awareness of their bearing. This partly reflects the greater neutrality, or veneer of neutrality, of broadcasters, fearful of the FCC and of pressure groups, and partly, as suggested in the text, the relative lack of interest academic people have in broadcasting.)

The mere fact of its existence, combined with inadequate information as to its actual im-

5. I have been told that the conservative Lansing, Michigan, paper is read with some apprehensiveness by professors at Michigan State University, who do not feel entirely safe in the agricultural empire that University has built in the State--this despite the fact that probably not many State legislators, even when in session, read or take too seriously the Lansing paper. For fuller discussion of the role of the home guard in academic freedom, see Constraint and Variety in American Education (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1956), c. I.

portance, allows the press to be used as leverage, one way or the other, in controversies over academic freedom, and in shaping the atmosphere in which such conflicts occur.⁶ An example of this would be where a beleaguered liberal on the faculty employed the press to turn the tables on an administration which had hitherto feared only conservative critics. Such an administration, perhaps at bottom in sympathy with a tolerant position, could use the alleged power of the press, and the harm it could do the university's public relations in the cosmopolitan world, as a weapon to balance the power of reactionaries among the trustees or in the local community.⁷ (Implicit in this is the possibility already indicated, namely of battles within the media in handling a particular episode, with the locals having Look as well as the New Republic to give them comfort and the sense of not being utterly alone.) Correspondingly, a professor who may unconsciously wish to take a less exposed line than his views warrant might use the press as a self-evident justification for caution: he can always say, "See what they are writing about me!" And in any event, a scholar may be quite deficient in ability to grasp the impact of a newspaper attack on him or his institution: he may have minimal connections in the community outside the college, and his wife may only see the pharmacist and the checkout

girl at the supermarket.

Such considerations set the stage for the growing influence of the public relations departments of academic institutions (including the president himself as the chief public relations official). The public relations office is, of course, in close touch with the local media. In some instances, where the press is sympathetic or neutral, this role may have only modest reflexive impact on the faculty. But where the press is hostile, the public relations department may on the one hand seek to mollify its hostility and avoid occasions for friction, while on the other hand acting as part of the resonant network by which such pressures are brought home to faculty members. Indeed I am struck by the degree to which innocence has been a protection for academic freedom. Rarer and rarer is the old-style professor who simply slashes out and devil take the consequences--because, in fact, he remains unaware of consequences. And, where such innocence no longer exists, a public relations department may go so far as to remind the faculty of even quite remote consequences--the possibility of a story in the Education section of Time or Newsweek, for instance, which might or might not help raise funds among industrialists; or the advantage of cooperating with the local legman of the wire services who is at the same time a reporter

6. The absence of any conflict is, in our experience, normally a sign of dismal intellectual pallor, of the absence of any expressed opinions that might engender community censure. In our visits, we found many colleges of poor academic standing where the faculty either fully shared the dominant local culture, or gave every appearance of doing so; such professors frequently did not read any paper or periodical, outside of the local "rag," other than perhaps the Saturday Evening Post or Reader's Digest.
7. For instance, whatever venom may be expressed against the Northern "nigger-loving" press by White Citizens' Councils in Southern college towns, members of the latter, wishing respectability, may be slightly stalled in their attacks on Myrdal-quoting anthropologists teaching in the colleges.

for the local and venomous paper. There are of course a great many ways in which the faculty member comes to be aware of the resonance of what he says or might say. But the legitimation provided by the press or the objectification of his views therein seems often decisive.

In the context of the transvaluation of all values into public relations terms, the long-run impact of the press on academic freedom has to be distinguished from short-run consequences. A friendly and sympathetic press may prove a not unmixed blessing to those few scholars for whom privacy, even coupled with alienation, may be more important than publicity, even when coupled with acclaim.

But I see no ready way to disentangle these latter issues from a whole gamut of questions concerning the sociology of intellectual life, while the short-run questions seem readily capable of translation into a research project. I would want to proceed by a few selected case studies, of a quasi-anthropological sort, following the model set by Walter Goldschmidt in As You Sow (in which he compared, on various indices, the quality of life in a town that was composed of tenant-farmers and one that was composed of small farm-owners). Interviews with faculty members as respondents would not suffice, since as just stated they are often unaware of the role the press plays in the local scene, or lack the historical or comparative perspective in which that role needs to be assessed. Rather, I would want to

use selected faculty members as informants, for in most large institutions there are a few men who have been there long enough, and are discerning enough, to grasp many of the factors in the complex Gestalts of atmospheric freedom. Nor would I do content analysis in the usual way: what we are after is the perceived image of the press--one might almost say its smell. Local journalists, too, might often be good informants. So might officials of the AAUP. And once one had an outline of what were the probable consequences of the press, one could then do more searching interviews with faculty members, administrators, and trustees--and one would also then want to study the paper itself, to see possible "parataxis" or projection in faculty images of it. But the assessment of the role of the press would still remain a judgment, gained from many palpables and checked by finding deviant cases where, so far as possible, many variables are the same (e.g., location in the State capital, venomous press, "Southern exposure"--as in Indianapolis, connections with agricultural extension, and so on). And, by the same token, the researcher in such a field would have to be able to talk, on a basis of social and intellectual equality, with newspapermen, professors, legislators, and regents; he would have to share enough of a common culture with these informants to "level" with them, to penetrate their possible evasions, and to understand what they tell and fail to tell.

--David Riesman
The University of Chicago

ON THE COVER:

On the front and back covers are 14 symbols approved by the Election Commission of India and reserved for Indian political parties during the general election in January, 1952. On the front cover: (1) Congress, (2) Socialist, (3) Forward bloc, (4) Kisan Mazdoor praja party, (5) Communist, (6) Revolutionary, (7) Krishikar lok party, (8) Jan Sangh. On the back cover: (9) Forward Block-Marxists, (10) Hindu Mahasabha, (11) Ram Rauya Parishad, (12) Scheduled Caste Federation, (13) Revolutionary Communist Party, (14) Bolshevik Party.

--Information Service of India

3. Research on Religious Practice as a Preliminary to Research on Religious Politics

In general in analyzing the political activity of the Italian Catholic party as an expression of the thought of the Church, one puts the accent on the more or less immediate political causes that determine its characteristics, such as international events, election results, the position taken by the socialist parties (more or less tied to the communist party), etc. In so doing one neglects one of the fundamental factors conditioning the political action of the Church and the political organisms on which it has particular influence. That factor is religious practice or observances. In fact one can hardly cite a case in which the Church has taken a politically relevant position without its posing itself first the fundamental question: What influence will this position that I am about to take or intend to propose to those who heed my leadership have on the religious practice of the population in general or of the social group to which it applies?

It is therefore evident that a research on the state of studies related to the sociology of religious practice has a fundamental preliminary importance for whoever intends to undertake analyses of the political activity of the Church and of the Catholic parties. Such a research would naturally have its limits. It would not be possible actually to follow the infinite subtleties of the sociology of religion in the various countries in which Catholicism has a particular significance. We suggest that a study of the political and social structure near Rome is the reasonable first step; there the relations between religious sociology and political activity are more immediate; namely, Italy is

suggested as the site of study.

The study can be presented in its various methodological phases.

1. Analysis of the research tools used by sociologists of religion in Italy, seeking to establish whether they are efficient and adequate to the purposes for which they are used. We might say at the start that by and large they do seem to correspond well enough to the problems treated. We should note, together with the usual means the sociologist of religion adopts in any part of the world, the stress put on statistics, sociology, and symbolic logic. In any case a review of the methodology used should be very brief, avoiding too profound a treatment which would take the review beyond its purpose.

2. Analysis of the scientific work to date. This is perhaps the most delicate part of the research inasmuch as it is bound to go into a mass of fragmentary and heterogeneous information. Up to now a clear and finished work is lacking, that would illuminate the fundamental problems of the sociology of religious practice in Italy, isolating fully and methodically the causes, the morphology, the political, economic, cultural consequences, etc., of the diverse intensity of religious observances. The research worker should dedicate himself therefore to a cautious work of analysis, seeking above all to separate the external manifestations of the observances considered indicative to the end of ascertaining the religiousness of single social groups. He will probably isolate, among other things, as fundamental factors, percentages of baptism, of

frequency of attendance at Sunday mass and Easter communion, etc. He will be able to see, in any case, and to evaluate a series of works on these single problems, be they in the specialized journal Sociologia Religiosa, that is for now the only scientific review dedicated directly to the field, or be they in the little volume of S. Burgalassi, "Bilancio e Prospettive della Sociologia Religiosa in Italia," Saggio bibliografico dei lavori utili alla sociologia italiana. Taken together, the journal and the small bibliographical volume give access to almost all that has been thus far written on the sociology and practice of religion in Italy. In any event, we wish to point out to the research worker that the scientific analyses of a religious sociology type can be grouped by the student in three categories: (1) methodological studies; (2) studies on the intensity of religious practice; and (3) studies on the relation of practice to the social structure in general.

In the first two categories the sociology of religion is not concerned with the political aspect of Catholicism; in the last category, it is. Here, therefore, is the reason why studies solely of religious practice and, even more, of methodology, do not create much of a stir. The Catholic political world, on the other hand, is more sensitive to those analyses that attempt to relate religious practice to the economic, political, and social life of Italy. Unfortunately, even in this area integrated research is rare. There are innumerable monographic works, some of noteworthy interest, but no study of high degree of latitude. The existing works, though, are probably enough to conclude, as we have done in several of our studies, that: (1) religious practice is inversely proportionate, roughly, to the spread of communism and socialism; (2) it is in many cases, but with frequent exceptions, inversely pro-

portionate (excluding the wealthiest classes) to the standard of living of the population; (3) it is rare in the proletariat (workers and farm hands); and (4) it has a territorial distribution bound to historical factors of particular political interest. (Very often religious observances conform to the geography of the old states that made up Italy before its unification.)

3. Conclusions: We have set down here by way of example only those elements that contribute to the intensity of religious practice. Many others exist that could be the object of an interesting and fruitful analysis, but these four examples seem to us sufficient to illustrate the importance that the sociology of religion can have for the Catholic politician and for the Church.

But if at the end of this inquiry the student has discovered the importance of the sociology of religion and has found a way to isolate with sufficient precision the factors in the decline or increase in religious observances, he can then seek to determine whether those factors and causes are really taken account of in the construction and transformation of Catholic political thought in Italy, whether they are interpreted correctly, and whether they end by having a determining importance in the formation of such thought.

4. Essential bibliography: Journals: Sociologia Religiosa (Tip. Antoniana Ed. Padova. 1957-1^o); Il Politico (Università degli Studi --Pavia--XXII-2, 1957); Orientamenti Pastoral (Presbyterium--Padova; one should consult several of the last years where, even though sporadically, there are a number of works on the sociology of religion to be found).

Books: A. Leoni, Sociologia e Geografia religiosa di una diocesi (Roma: Università Gregoriana 1952, 224 pp.); S. Burgalassi,

Bilancio e prospettive della sociologia religiosa in Italia. Saggio bibliografico dei lavori utili alla sociologia religiosa italiana (Roma: Icas, 1957; 52 pp.); G. Braga, Il Comunismo fra gli italiani--Saggio di Sociologia (Milano: Ed. di Comunità, 1957); P. Grasso, Elementi di sociologia religiosa (Torino: Ist. Sal. di

Scienze Sociali, 1955). The remaining essential bibliography is all or almost all contained in the journal Sociologia Religiosa and in the little volume of Silvano Burgalassi.

--S. S. Acquaviva
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4. Effects of Legislative and Administrative Accessibility on Interest Group Politics

An examination of the political process in traditional societies suggests that the relative accessibility of law-makers as contrasted to law-enforcing agencies influences the character of interest group behavior. If the public finds that the law- or policy-makers (the Emperor, the Court, etc.) are distant and inaccessible while the law- or policy-enforcing agencies (the magistrates, administrative functionaries, etc.) are near at hand, then informally organized interest groups (clans, secret societies, guilds, etc.) will proceed along quiet ways seeking special favors for their members.

From this observation we may formulate the general hypothesis that: "Whenever the formally constituted law-makers are more distant from, and more inaccessible to, the public than the law-enforcing agencies, the political process of the society will be characterized by a high degree of latency, and interests will be represented by informally organized groups seeking diffuse but particularistically defined goals that will not be broadly articulated nor claimed to be in the general interest."

The corollary of this hypothesis would, of course, read: "Whenever the formally constituted law-makers are less distant

from, and more accessible to, the public than the law-enforcing agencies, the political process of the society will be open and manifest, and interests will be represented by explicitly organized groups seeking specific but universalistically defined goals which will be broadly articulated and claimed to be in the general interest." This hypothesis would help explain why American politics is characterized by a multitude of explicitly organized groups advancing their separate interests in a highly articulate fashion and all in the name of the national interest.

Starting with these two formulations we can proceed to set up a four-fold table by introducing the two other possibilities: (1) high accessibility to both the legislative and the administrative process, and (2) low accessibility to both.¹ We may observe from Table I (page 12) that when interest groups have high accessibility to both the Legislative and Administrative processes, they will tend to be highly visible, talk in universalistic terms toward the legislative process, but seek particularistic objectives from the

1. Karl W. Deutsch suggested this possibility as well as many of the implications that follow from it.

Table I

Accessibility to Legislative

		High	Low
<u>Accessibility</u> <u>to</u> <u>Administrative</u>	High	Universalistic Statements + Particularistic Demands + Visibility = Bargaining	Particularistic + Latent = Pragmatic Approach
	Low	Universalistic + Visible = Constitutional and/or Ideological Approach	Exaggerated Particularistic + Latent = Apathy or Exaggerated Universalistic + Visible = Utopian Radicalism

Administrators. The result would be interest groups that are guided by their universalistic statements but prefer to engage in a bargaining process. Examples would be effective interest groups in the United States who seek to conform to the ideals of national interest and are prepared to negotiate over their specific interests. Such groups would avoid rigid ideological commitments.

When interest groups have low accessibility to legislators but high accessibility to administrators they will tend to be latent (relatively invisible) and use a particularistic language in approaching the administrators. The result will be a highly pragmatic approach. (Examples here would be the informal associations in traditional societies, managerial class in the Soviet Union, labor or business groups without influence on legislatures. At the extreme upper right-hand corner would be the "fixer" and the handler of bribes.)

Confronted with low accessibility to administrators and high accessibility to legislators, interest groups will be highly visible, employ universalistic language, and their approach will be

constitutional and/or ideological. Examples would include interest groups with strong ideological or moralistic characteristics.

In the last case, where there is low accessibility to both, potential interest groups will either (1) be highly latent and concerned with extremely particularistic matters (non-political ones) and the result will be apathy, or (2) they will employ extremely universalistic language, be highly but spontaneously visible, and, having little regard for questions of ends and means in their approach, will be utopian radicals. Examples of the first would be the politically apathetic groups under a colonial rule, while the second would include the early stages of a nationalist movement, populist movement, the IWW, the Ku Klux Klan.

It would thus seem that four-fold tables could be constructed not only to classify the types of interest groups in any particular society at any given time but also to compare the dominant pattern of interest group behavior by countries.

There also seem to be possibilities for dynamic analysis since

we can trace the changing characteristics of a particular group as its relative accessibility to the legislative and the administrative change. It should be possible to trace the changes in the character of a group that follow from a decline in accessibility to either the legislative or the administrative processes or to both. Thus the model might provide a basis for predicting various forms of changes in the character of interest groups.

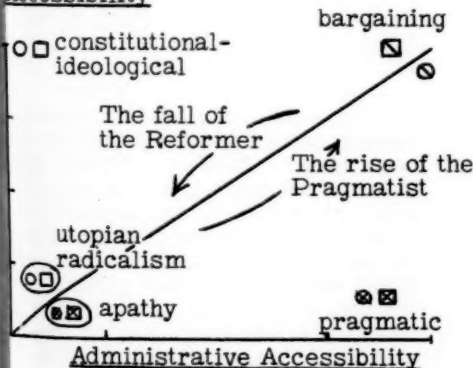
In order to make sure we are not poaching on Mr. Parkinson's territory, it is, of course, necessary to devise some techniques for testing the hypothesis. In order to determine whether the characteristics of "universalistic/particularistic language" and "visible/latent" correlate with relative accessibility to the legislative and the administrative processes as we have suggested they should, one could use a scatter diagram to determine whether the various characteristics clus-

However, the real problem is that of arriving at an index for measuring accessibility. This is, of course, the old problem of devising a means for measuring influence or power. Possibly some of the methods that are being developed to measure communication flows could be adapted to measure accessibility.

In the meantime it would be best simply to employ the honored technique of asking experts in the field whether, on the basis of their knowledge about the characteristics of interest groups and their relative accessibility to the legislative and the administrative processes, the hypotheses seem to be valid. If it is possible to find, for example, interest groups with little access to the legislative process and high accessibility to the administrative that are highly visible and strongly ideological, then we would have disproved the hypothesis.

Table II

Legislative Accessibility



Key

Universalistic	○
Particularistic	⊗
Universalistic/particularistic	⊙
Visible	□
Latent	⊠
Partially visible	⊡
Exaggerated	○

ter in the quadrants we suggest they should in Table II (above).

--Lucian W. Pye
M. I. T.

5. A History of the Study of Politics

Having publicly announced my post-retirement research project on the History, Theory, and Practice of the Study of Politics, I feel an obligation to explain it more fully to any who may be interested. In this note I will deal with only the first part, the History of the Study of Politics. The immensity of this portion alone sometimes frightens me, even though it is to be limited primarily to the west.

For my purposes I take "politics" to be a generic term or class name for a wide range of human activities relating to the formulation and the authoritative effectuation of community policies. It includes the informal as well as the formal activities, the illegal as well as the legal, the acts of those governed as well as those of the governors or rulers--if the acts in question relate to or clearly affect the formation and authoritative effectuation of community policies. It embraces the organization, reorganization, and destruction of states and governments, the formation of public opinion, political party activities, nominations and elections to public office, the appointment, training, and removal of public officials and employees, legislating, adjudicating, and many other types of acts.

Although many persons define political science as simply the study of governments, I view political activity primarily from the side of people--individuals and groups--, whether they are in governmental positions or not. Political activities are human activities, like economic, religious, and family or social activities. Of course these activities all interact and are interdependent. They all involve relations of individuals to each other with respect to power, property, public services, order, moral conduct,

and other things. They take place both inside and outside of the government, and in interactions between lay citizens and those in government.

The study of politics is itself a human political activity, but the study can be distinguished by the fact that it represents primarily an effort to learn, to gain understanding and knowledge--at its highest levels even an attempt to develop a philosophy or a science of politics for the whole human species.

The purposes for which men engage or have engaged in this study are not irrelevant or unimportant to my theme. But the revolutionist who studies a government in order to overthrow it, and the aggressive ruler who has his advisers study neighboring states to discover their weaknesses in order the more easily to conquer them, must be considered to have studied politics along with academic teachers and students whose motives are quite different. Even the work of beginning students in getting their first knowledge of politics is a part of the study of politics.

The study of politics undoubtedly went on in fairly primitive nonliterate societies. Forms of government were devised and changed in such communities. Treaties were made and confederations formed. These actions would hardly have been taken without some study, including contemplation, consultation, debate, and decision-making. Such primitive examples of study will not detain me for long. The records from early literate societies in the Near East will be a more important point of beginning.

As I try to review the record of political studies in literate societies, the Greeks will naturally

receive considerable attention, because they raised the study to heights never before achieved, and indeed, never again to be attained until modern times.

As my account develops I expect that I will pay more and more attention to formal and organized study in schools and universities outside the government proper. I shall try not to forget, however, that the study of politics goes on inside governments, in departments of foreign affairs and of finance, for example, in church offices, party headquarters, and the homes of private scholars, as well as in organized educational institutions.

In addition to differences in the purposes or objectives of study, there are differences in the actual subject matter that is studied. These differences are associated with time, place, and circumstances, and also with the interests and objectives of the students concerned. Thus in the Greek city states Plato and his school had little interest in techné, the practical ways of getting things done, while Isocrates and others had different interests including some of the technologies of persuasion and current issues of international relations. We find similar differences in the United States today between those who have become devotees of the new "political behavior" and "scientific" approach, and others who devote themselves to current practical problems in public administration, local government, public law, and international relations.

My position is that political science at any time is the cumulative result of the studies of many thousands of men (and women) through many centuries, who have studied politics from their various points of view and have left a record of their thoughts, observations, and hypotheses or generalizations. Not everything

in this immense accumulation is "true," by any means, any more than would be the case in any other field of study. It is my intention to try to report what was studied and how it was studied, as fully and as fairly as possible, but some selection is unavoidable. A complete reporting is impossible. My primary basis for selection will be this: What subjects in general do the college and university departments of government, politics, and political science in the United States today include within their lists of course offerings? I take the curricula of American institutions as my main standard because (a) they are here; (b) I know more about them than I do about foreign institutions of higher learning; (c) in quantity and diversity of courses offered in the field of politics they seem to me to lead the world; and (d) I believe that in general they cover the field of politics reasonably well, except that they do not usually include public finance, which I consider a political science subject. Because the readers of PROD are familiar with the wide range of subjects studied in American political science departments it will not be necessary to list them here. Ancient and even medieval students of politics did not use the particular subject categories so familiar to American students, nor did they have departments of political science. Instead the teachers of rhetoric and oratory, of Roman law and of canon law, dealt with political matters in accordance with their various needs and purposes. Historians, philosophers, and even theologians dipped deep into political matters.

In time there also came into being special studies and training in foreign affairs, in fiscal management and policy, in public administration, in the notarial art, and in other specialties in the conduct of public business. In one way and another statesmen, public officials, teachers, and other men

of learning were studying many kinds of political problems and activities, were writing on these subjects, and were passing their learning on to future generations in oral, written, and later in printed form. I shall undoubtedly miss many individual students and contributors to the streams of political studies, but I hope at least to identify a number of representative ones.

My methods of research will be primarily those of an historian. With the aid of assistants I am now engaged in combing the bibliographies and indices of learned literature for such evidences as there are of what I seek. The histories of historiography, of science, of education, of economic, political, and social ideas, and other such works, are proving to be valuable, as are general histories of culture and of political events. There are, indeed, many potential sources, and there is much reading and sifting to be done. Any suggestions that other scholars can make will be most welcome.

And now, in conclusion, why write a history of the study of politics at all? Harald Höffding in his Introduction to A History of Modern Philosophy (p. xiii) says: "As we learn to know a man from his biography, so also we must be able to learn to know a science from its history." W. P. D. Wightman in the Preface to his work The Growth of Scientific Ideas expresses his idea of the desirability of having such a history with a quotation from Aristotle's Politics that adorns his title page:

"Here and elsewhere we shall not obtain the best insight into things until we actually see them growing from the beginning...."

As far as I know there is nothing in print that gives an extended and connected account of the many ways in which, and the various guises under which, men in various times and lands, under different conditions and difficulties, have actually worked at the task of trying to describe, understand, and interpret politics.

My study is not intended to provide a new history of political ideas. My emphasis is not to be on the ideas distilled from political studies but upon the efforts of men, in and out of universities, to get at the facts and the meanings of politics. Whether they are classed primarily as political scientists or not, if they actually studied any important part of what we now call politics, I will try to identify them and to find out what they did in this field and how they did it.

A first work in this field is bound to have many shortcomings. I do believe, however, that the work may help students of politics to locate their discipline among the other disciplines, and to identify themselves better than they could before with the many past contributors to the field. It might conceivably help to unify the profession. And if perchance some young men and women here and there should be inspired by such a history to join in the age-old, desperately needed effort of men to understand and thereby to help improve political institutions, procedures, and objectives, and human conduct in politics, I shall feel the more strongly that my effort has been worthwhile.

--William Anderson
University of Minnesota

6. THE GAME BAG

The response to PROD continued good. Reports from hustings overseas are beginning to come in. S. N. Eisenstadt, head of the sociology department at the Hebrew University in Israel, writes: "I have seen the first issue...and would be grateful if you could send it on to me." From Beirut, William Flash says: "Ralph Crow has let me borrow his copy....we spend a good deal of time swapping it back and forth." Dieter Merbitz, studying at the Free University of Berlin, asks: "Can I consider the journal evidence of the conclusion of the optimistic phase of American civilization? Is it the beginning of insecurity, the recognition of ultimate uncertainty, which one documents by searches for motives and attempts at prediction? (To me as a European this is appealing.) Though I could naturally be wrong, I think I perceive the awakening in the U.S. of the courage to be uncertain." [What could be more optimistic than publishing PROD?]

Space permits citing only a few friends stateside: Weldon "Hoot" Gibson of Stanford Research Institute says PROD is "a most worthwhile effort." Franklin Burdette finds it "stimulating and helpful." Lester Milbrath of Duke writes: "Some of my colleagues at the University of North Carolina have called my attention to the first issue of PROD. It seems to me that such a publication fills a need and should continue in publication." Herbert McClosky (U. of Minn.): "You can put me down...." Harry Krould (Washington, D. C.): "...a welcome surprise." James Shipton (G. E., Crotonville):

"Good luck in your approach." James T. Watkins IV (Stanford): "Have just read through your second issue. If future numbers are one-half as stimulating, you will be performing a valuable service to the profession. Congratulations." [By the way, Watkins suggests the simple name "Political Research"; but Lane Davis of U. of Iowa says "I also like the name a great deal--one vote for keeping the status quo on this." We'll wait a while longer. Davis asks: "What about a section which keeps a running tab on who is doing what on various grants--this would be very helpful." "IN THE NEWS," appearing in this issue, is a start along these lines.

PROD has grown considerably in a few months. We are still giving away many copies but, as the reader may know, are going after subscriptions. The 400 copies of the first number grew to 800 for the second number, and printing on the third number reached 2,000. Multiple readership of single copies appears to be common.

No major change in format or size is planned. PROD now has a very late deadline for manuscripts--thirty days before you receive your copy. News and other material can go in only 15 days before circulation date. The new BIBLIOGRAPHY feature carries late items, too; work on it runs only two weeks ahead of printing. Thus there are practical advantages to PROD's format going beyond the original considerations of low cost and informality. HAPPY NEW YEAR!

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Educational Institutions	3.00
Commercial	10.00

7. "Basic Research" in the Social Sciences

Basic research is nowadays the goal and the slogan of physical sciences. To be faithful to their own supposed nature, the social sciences should follow the trend. So we may well ask what is the nature of basic research in the social sciences.

In the physical sciences basic research is understood to be research without specific practical purposes. Yet this idea of basic research seems to this writer to indicate a lack of clarity in the field: there has been a tendency to superimpose and confuse science and technology, knowledge with its positive or practical applications. How much worse is the confusion in social science!

"Basic" social research has come to mean ordinary research, of the advertising industry type, done by more complicated techniques.

Actually social research is a blossom which has far outgrown its roots. The techniques of investigation, the systems of classification and quantification, are now so developed that they have outstripped their subject matter. Such imposing fields as communication research, elite analysis, or even the study of psychotherapy have far more of precise means of investigation than they have of precise understanding of the problems to be investigated.

Social researchers often will not recognize that it is much harder to formulate clearly a valid and plausible and relevant hypothesis than to test it. In fact, many hypotheses are but continuing constant reformulation of a mother "urhypothesis" which, having been loosely formulated at the outset, causes countless surveys to be carried out because in each case it is simpler to employ known and tried methods than to

undertake basic re-definitions.

The idea that prevails in the physical sciences that basic research enables the scholar to find out parcels of truth with no immediate use. Philosophically speaking, no social scientist can think of a parcel of truth having no use. But, without sailing over philosophical shoals, we may view this point as it has been seen by many a social scientist; they have realized that a constant increase in social research does not mean a constant increase in knowledge. This writer knows of two (and there may be more) suggestions which have been proposed to improve and increase the output of pure social research.

One is known as serendipity; it has to do with Walpole, with Serendib (now Ceylon) and with rubies found by chance by three princesses--they looked for one thing and stumbled onto something else; the something else happened to be much more precious.

The other is the idea of "research without purpose": one sets out to carry on research without a set goal in mind, but researching nevertheless. Somewhere, somehow one will find something worthwhile.

Both of these approaches are right, and both reveal that preoccupation with certain types of research is still more relevant than preoccupation with a poor kind of knowledge. In the first case, if rubies can be found by any wayfarer in Serendib, no reason exists to look for lesser items. If it is only the princesses who are endowed with the gift of serendipity, the task is to set them apart from less serendipital researchers

The second point is also true, but is not new and is not our contemporary research. In fact,

Plato, Aristotle, St. Thomas, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Comte, Marx and others indulged mostly in this kind of research; they were able to perceive parcels of truth, parcels of enormous size, without engaging in our kind of research. Their method was so different from ours that it cannot be compared, and is not to be called by the same name. They could state forceful and sweeping hypotheses because they were unhampered by the many strange concepts, notions, and anxieties brought forth by the new social research.

Three points can help an understanding of basic research in the social sciences:

(1) The contemporary idea of social research was born out of an effort to imitate physical sciences in the study of society. This imitation does not mean that there is identity, nor does it mean that method determines the science, or that the methods of physical sciences can be applied to the study of man to the exclusion of other, far more important methods. Indeed, we may add, much that seems wrong, morally and otherwise, with the social sciences is equally wrong with the physical sciences, and for the same reasons.

(2) Research and the methods it prompts and employs are devices and devices only. They cannot give out more than one puts in. Basic research in the social sciences is the hardest there is

because to date we know of so few means or devices to enhance it, or laboratories where it can be carried out. As a result, the importance of skill in research should be degraded; a skilled social scientist should be invariably the amanuensis of the gifted speculator and the imaginative dreamer. The man who knows because he belongs must make way for the voluntary outcast who learns a perspective of society by making himself into an instrument of observation.

(3) Ever since the inception of the cold war we have been increasingly aware that moral issues cannot be avoided. The cold-blooded, impassive, uncommitted social scientist of the thirties, unconcerned with value judgments, prone to reserve judgments, looking at society with the detachment of an astronomer peering at a galaxy, should realize now what the astronomer or the surgeon, one hopes, has realized. Moral values are our main occupation. Morality is not a part of man but his essence. We cannot subtract morality from social research to make it simpler, nor can we add it to some finished research job to make it more complete. Basic research starts from this point. Of course T. S. Eliot, W. E. Hocking, E. E. Evans-Pritchard have already said that much. They are excellent company.

--Renzo Sereno
Washington, D. C.

8. Quantitative Methods in Politics, after Thirty Years

I make the confession for the first time--writing this book was a Postman's Holiday. As I recall, Harry Barnes, bent on doing good, maneuvered Alfred A. Knopf and me into a contract under which I was to write something about the use of statistics in

politics. Neither the publisher nor myself, nor even Barnes, had much idea what the assignment implied. There were unavoidable delays; and another obligation intervened. The Committee on Scientific Method of the Social Science Research Council had hired

me to engineer a "case book" on Methods in Social Science--ultimately published by the University of Chicago Press. During the summer of 1927 preparation of the Case Book was mired deeper and deeper by differences of conception among those concerned. Brain-weary, I took a three week vacation.

This was my opportunity to fulfill the contract with Knopf! Shifting hats, without other change of habits or locale, I was surprised at the zest with which I turned attention to the new set of problems. Three weeks, 21 days, 22 chapters! Though strenuous this schedule was not as imposing as it sounds. Studies already made, papers already published or in preparation, together with a confession of scientific faith to serve as a conceptual setting, provided building stones for the edifice. Some shaping or reshaping of these raw materials, together with a bit of mortar, and the three-times-seven-day wonder was ready for projection to its orbit.

One of the questions assigned to me by the Editor of PROD is what I thought of the job when completed. I thought of it as a series of illustrations, arranged in logical order, of the possibility of using traditional statistical methods in an area where their use was unfamiliar. As I returned to the Case Book I was aware of considerable relief over the discharge of an obligation. Further, creative expression under pressure seems particularly satisfying and I was no doubt smug. The experience seemed to refresh me for the main task of the summer. The complexities surrounding the Case Book that had all but throttled me began to disentwine. However, some disillusionment over my summer-born prodigy occurred when, in its printed pages, I began to discover errors and barbarisms in the use of language that I should have preferred to disown.

I am also asked by the Editor of PROD how I feel about subsequent developments within the area. "Feel" is the right word, since I lack sufficient acquaintance with recent research and publications in the field to warrant a confident appraisal:

Let it be clear that I cannot claim credit for originating a new approach to the study of political behavior. Many years earlier A. Lawrence Lowell made statistical analyses of roll call votes in state legislatures. Contemporary with my own studies were others of analogous types (and in some cases of greater importance) by L. L. Thurstone, William F. Ogburn, Floyd Allport, Charles Merriam and Harold Gosnell, and a number of others. Included in this group were psychologists, social psychologists, sociologists and political scientists--all with "disinterested" research interests of "academic" origin.

Leadership in this type of exploration subsequently passed to those with more practical ends in view: selling in markets and maximizing the results of political campaign expenditures, for example. While the application of quantitative methods to such objectives has proliferated enormously--to the extent that the first has become Big Business--it seems to me that equivalent progress has been lacking in the development of underlying concepts and methods. Many new words and expressions have been added to the jargon of journeymen in the trade; and great progress has been made in the means of obtaining representative data through scientific sampling; but I wonder how far the "science of politics" has developed in its basic orientation and conceptions and its methods of quantification?

The answer may be that advances have been made along the entire front of social science, without the traditional differentia-

tion among its segments. Motivation research, depth interviewing, experimental design, linear programming, game theory, projection techniques and other operational concepts and procedures relate to the behavioral sciences as a whole. Hence, if Quantitative Methods in Politics helped in some degree to draw the study of man's

political life into the same currents which were bearing along the study of other aspects of social organization and human behavior, then my three weeks' holiday 30 years ago was worthwhile.

--Stuart A. Rice
Stuart A. Rice and Associates
Washington, D. C.

9. Rice's Quantitative Methods in Politics, Reviewed Thirty Years Later

When I dusted off my old copy of Rice's pioneer book to write this review, I found my notes written at the time. After reading the book again and also these notes, I had to conclude that Rice was a rugged pioneer and his methods were sound. Recently, I have been dusting off some old books of my own and I have been playing with the idea of having a new look at Chicago politics. I was told by one of the public opinion survey organizations that it would now cost one hundred thousand dollars to repeat what I did back in the twenties for less than ten thousand dollars. Why has this type of research increased tenfold in cost during the past thirty years? It is clear that Rice's pioneer studies were relatively inexpensive. He used available materials before collecting vast mountains of new data. Now we have huge survey organizations which must meet large overhead charges. Foundations do not like small projects. Some survey organizations spend a great deal of time and energy in figuring out how to spend all the money they have. It has always been my contention that successful research in the field of politics depends upon insight. Rice had some fine insights. He used his students constructively. They helped him make these surveys and they learned something in the process. I am willing to wager

that they did not demand two or three dollars an hour in order to increase their knowledge of social science.

Rice anticipated many developments in the field of public opinion research. As I reread these pages, I note the following suggested research problems: the study of stereotypes by identifying photographs; the causes of skew distribution of individual attitudes on such political questions as prohibition; a measure of progressivism based on election statistics; the social density of attitudes; the relationship between referendum votes and measures of economic status; the effect of political boundaries on progressivism; nationality, sex, and urban influences on voting; identification of blocs in legislative bodies; experimental study of campaign stimuli; prediction of election results; and analysis of voting trends. All of these suggested studies were done on a shoestring. And I think that Rice's students learned something in the process. All hail to our pioneer!

Now there have been advances in methods of social science in the past thirty years. We can point with pride to the improvements in sampling techniques, the development of questionnaire design including the Thurstone and Guttman techniques, the perfection of

experimental study designs by Hovland and others, the sharpening of interviewing techniques by Likert, Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Hart, Campbell, and others, the self-supporting public opinion research done by Gallup, Roper, Crossley, and others, but some researchers in the field have lost sight of the great wealth of material already at hand which can be exploited by statistical methods which were developed a hundred years ago. They neglect this material and spend the foundations' millions in gathering new data to prove things which we already know. Al de Grazia in his The Western Public did not make this mistake. He combined the survey technique with the analysis of available data. Lubell is right, in one sense, when he pokes fun at the elaborate techniques and rituals which public opinion research now uses. Lubell looks at the record, at available election statistics, and he talks to individuals. He is not separated from his public by interviewers, coders, tabulating machines, and analyzers. Now do not mistake me. I believe in the modern techniques, but as an aid, not as an end-all.

Thirty years have gone by. We have not lived up to the promise of this pioneer book. Statistics is not a required subject for political scientists. Social psychologists study voting behavior with elaborate techniques, but do not know political science and do not understand the political process. They write as though they have never canvassed a precinct, attended an old-fashioned political rally, watched a party convention, gossiped with the politicians, or gotten the smell of politics. Men like Harris, Eldersveld, Key, and Heard are exceptions. If political scientists, on a cooperative basis, had combined to test some of Rice's hypotheses and other significant hypotheses during the past thirty years, using students on a training basis and getting out to observe themselves what they were studying, we might be much further along in constructing a science of politics.

--Harold F. Gosnell
American University
Washington, D. C.

10. Political Sociology at the Bureau of Applied Social Research

The Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University was established in 1937; its interest in the field of political sociology has been continuous and is almost as old as the organization itself. In this article the Bureau's history and past research are reviewed briefly; in a subsequent article the Bureau's plans for the

future will be described in greater detail.¹

Originally known as the Office of Radio Research, the Bureau was established at Princeton in 1937 and moved to Columbia University in 1940. The Rockefeller Foundation had provided funds to support a three-year inquiry into

1. The Bureau's Twentieth Anniversary Report, from which this article has been adapted, contains a further description of these activities and a complete bibliography. Copies of this report as well as a supplementary bibliography may be obtained from the Librarian, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 605 W. 115th St., New York 25, N. Y.

the impact of radio on American society, and the Office of Radio Research was established to carry out this project. Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, formerly the Chairman of the Division of Applied Psychology at the University of Vienna, was appointed its Director.

The Bureau was thus born with a life-expectancy of only three years. A number of developments took place during these three years, however, which created a new concept of the organization and led to its continuance on a permanent basis.

The existence and capabilities of the new organization, limited as they were, nevertheless demonstrated the potentialities of maintaining a permanent social research center on a university campus. The requirements of sociological field work had by the late 1930's grown beyond the capacity of the individual investigator, and the Office of Radio Research, with its facilities, staff, and equipment, made it possible for members of the faculty to undertake studies requiring the collection and analysis of data from large populations. The organization came to be viewed as a possible prototype for a social science research center--providing faculty members with research facilities, and students with practical training--comparable to laboratories and research institutes in such fields as chemistry, physics, and biology.

Such a social science laboratory, furthermore, seemed capable of serving not only the university but the larger community as well. The universities had long provided public and private organizations with assistance in solving problems in the natural sciences. It seemed logical, therefore, that they should expand their activities to include assistance in the growing field of the social sciences. The pattern of combined founda-

tion, university, and commercial support established at this time has been followed subsequently by a number of other university social research organizations.

The Office of Radio Research, upon moving to Columbia University in 1940, became the social research laboratory of the Graduate Department of Sociology. At Columbia, some of the hopes which had prompted its continuation began to be implemented. The research program was expanded to include the study of other media of mass communication--newspapers, films, and magazines--and an investigation of the effects of these media on vote intentions inaugurated what has turned out to be a continuing program of research in political behavior.

Professor Robert K. Merton joined the staff in 1943 as Associate Director. By 1944 the research program had so far transcended the field of radio that its name had become an anachronism. The organization was accordingly rechristened the Bureau of Applied Social Research, a name which seemed to steer free of narrow topical limitations and which reflected an interest--which has never become a confining restriction--in research applicable to specific community needs.

In the years immediately following the war, research in the fields of communication and political behavior continued. In 1948 Professor Lazarsfeld resigned the directorship of the Bureau to become Chairman of the Department of Sociology, and was succeeded by Dr. Kingsley Davis, who had recently joined the Columbia faculty. Professor Lazarsfeld continued his association with the Bureau as Associate Director, a position which he occupies today. Under Dr. Davis' direction, a program of manpower and population studies was added to the Bureau's activities.

Dr. Davis resigned as Director in 1951 and Dr. Charles Y. Glock was appointed to succeed him. Dr. Glock had been a full-time member of the Bureau's staff since 1945 and his new appointment reflected a long-felt need that the directorship be made a full-time position. Professor Edmund deS. Brunner, Chairman of the Board of Governors, was appointed an Associate Director as well at this time. Professor Davis continued as an Associate Director until 1955, at which time he left Columbia to become Professor of Sociology at the University of California. Recent appointments at the Bureau include Dr. Abram J. Jaffe, director of the program in manpower and population; Professor Herbert H. Hyman, Associate Director; and Dr. David L. Sills, Acting Director during Dr. Glock's leave of absence during the 1957-58 academic year.

In recent years there has been an expansion of the research staff and a shift of its composition. During the first decade the professional staff of the Bureau consisted of between 12 and 15 individuals, two of whom held faculty appointments as well. The staff today, in addition to the Directors, includes 27 senior members, twelve of whom are also members of the Columbia faculty; 24 research assistants, fellows, and interns, and an administrative staff of 17 persons. Although the staff is still drawn primarily from the field of sociology, appointments have been made in re-

cent years from other fields of the social and behavioral sciences, including psychology, history, economics, mathematical statistics, education, and political science.

The Bureau's current research program is centered around six broad lines of inquiry, each of which reflects a special competence of the organization achieved over the course of its history. The six programs are communications and opinion formation, political sociology, consumer behavior, manpower and population, the sociology of the professions, and the sociology of religion. The remainder of this article is devoted to a description of activities in the field of political sociology.

Bureau research in politics may be classified into five sub-areas. First, there is continuing interest in the general topic of how the American voter decides his vote. A trilogy of studies on this topic is now being completed. An initial study, undertaken during the 1940 presidential campaign, sought to evaluate the role of mass media in the voting process.² A second study, completed in 1954, assessed the role of primary groups--family members, friends, and colleagues--in determining voting behavior in a national election.³ The third study, now nearing completion, attempts to determine the degree to which patterns of voting behavior in presidential elections hold true in off-year congressional elections.⁴

2. Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (2nd ed.), N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1948.
3. Berelson, Bernard, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Election (in cooperation with the Univ. of Chicago and Columbia), Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954. See also Kaplan, Norman, "Reference Group Theory and Voting Behavior," unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1955; and Kitt, Alice S., and David B. Gleicher, "Determinants of Voting Behavior," Public Opinion Q., XIV (1950), 393-412.
4. McPhee, William N., ed., "A Progress Report on the 1950

These studies have been methodologically as well as topically cumulative in that they have sought to refine the panel method of repeating interviewing as a device for studying short-term social change.

A second and relatively new sub-area of inquiry deals with the nature and implications of the political processes at work in what may be regarded as private governments, i.e., labor unions, business and industrial organizations, and voluntary associations. One recently-completed Bureau study examines the underlying conditions which produced and preserve a two-party system in the International Typographical Union, the only major union in the United States in which such a system has persisted.⁵ Another related--although not specifically political--study investigates the attributes of organizational struc-

ture which have contributed to the growth and survival of a major voluntary health organization.⁶

A third area of political research carried out at the Bureau consists of studies of the relationship of communications exposure to political attitudes in areas subjected to Soviet influence. Two such areas have been studied; the Soviet satellite countries⁷ and countries located in the Near and Middle East.⁸

Fourth--somewhat more interdisciplinary in nature--is an attempt to combine the methods of the social sciences and the traditional ones of political historiography. Using the Civil War as a test case, an effort is being made to evaluate the sometimes contradictory hypotheses concerning the causes of the War. This is being done by re-examining the voting records of the pre-

Congressional Election Study," unpubl. BASR Report, 1952. See also Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Morris Rosenberg, "The Contribution of the Regional Poll to Political Understanding," Public Opinion Q., XIII (1949-50), 570-86; and Meyer, Alan S., "A Study of Autism in the Social Perception of Group Voting Behavior," unpubl. master's essay, Columbia University, 1951.

5. Lipset, Seymour M., James S. Coleman, and Martin A. Trow, Union Democracy, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. See also Coleman, James S., "Political Cleavage Within the International Typographical Union," unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1955; Lipset, Seymour M., "The Political Process in Trade Unions: A Theoretical Statement," in Freedom and Control in Modern Society, M. Berger, T. Abel, and C. Page, eds., N. Y.: Van Nostrand, 1954, 82-124; and Lipset, Seymour M., "Democracy in the International Typographical Union," in Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society, 1955, 211-18.
6. Sills, David L., The Volunteers, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.
7. Kracauer, Siegfried, and Paul L. Berkman, "Attitudes Toward Various Communist Types in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia," Social Problems, III (1955), 104-14; and Kracauer, Siegfried, and Paul L. Berkman, Satellite Mentality, N. Y.: Praeger, 1956.
8. Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958 (forthcoming). See also Kendall, Patricia L., and Benjamin B. Ringer, "Climates of Opinion in Egypt," unpubl. BASR Report, 1951; Kendall, Patricia L., "The Ambivalent Character of Nationalism Among Egyptian Professionals," Public Opinion Q., XX (1956), 277-89;

Civil War period through a modification of the panel method ordinarily used in attitude research.⁹ Another project now being developed will seek to apply concepts of index formation to obtaining more satisfactory measures of the state of public opinion on given issues at different times in American history.¹⁰

Finally, recognizing a need to bring a degree of order and theoretical significance to existing research on politics, the Bureau--in cooperation with members of the Department of History and the Department of Public Law and Government--is seeking to organize, systematize, and synthesize current knowledge of the political process. This activity parallels a similar effort in the communications program and

grows out of the need for periodic review and systematization in all fields of scientific inquiry. Two such syntheses have been prepared: a review of what is known about the psychology of voting¹¹ and a summary of research reporting on the processes through which the political attitudes of young people are formed.¹²

This article has reviewed briefly the development of the Bureau's program of political research, and has described the major publications to date. A subsequent article will look toward the future and describe an important new area now being developed.

--Charles Y. Glock and
David L. Sills
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McPhee, William N., and Rolf Meyersohn, "Syrian Attitudes Towards America and Russia," unpubl. BASR Report, 1952; Ringer, Benjamin B., and David L. Sills, "Political Extremists in Iran," Public Opinion Q., XVI (1952-53), 689-701; and Stycos, J. Mayone, "Greek Attitudes toward the U.S., U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and France," unpubl. BASR Report, 1951. For a general description of this research, see Glock, Charles Y., "The Comparative Study of Communications and Opinion Formation," Public Opinion Q., XVI (1952-53), 512-23.

9. Benson, Lee, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography" (BASR jointly with the Columbia Univ. Planning Project for Advanced Training), in Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences, M. Komarovsky, ed., Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.
10. Benson, Lee, and Thomas J. Pressly, "Can Differences in the Interpretation of the Causes of the American Civil War be Resolved Objectively?" Paper discussed at session of Amer. Historical Assoc., Dec. 29, 1956. Unpubl. BASR Report, 1956.
11. Lipset, Seymour M., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Allen H. Barton, and Juan Linz, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," Handbook of Social Psychology, G. Lindzey, ed., Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. II, 1124-75.
12. Hyman, Herbert H., Political Socialization, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958 (forthcoming).

11. Anthropological Study of Ruling Groups, II

(This is the second of two notes appearing in PROD.)

A mere touch of anthropology should suffice to warn the enter-

prising student of ruling groups against scoring the prestige of persons or offices in foreign areas like the scoring they would obtain in the United States. A

small town schoolteacher in Europe has more prestige than a similar person in the United States. In Europe, furthermore, the teacher is likely to be a man rather than a woman. In certain countries such as Yugoslavia, the status of a merchant will differ according to his nationality or religion, namely as to whether he is Greek, Moslem or Serb. The status of an Arab farmer is immensely lower than that of his Israelite counterpart.

But these differences among peoples are merely instances of large differences among whole systems of beliefs or ideologies. If one understands only a group of particular differences of the kind usually explained in tourist guide-books where, for example, the odd significance of the Japanese smile is apt to be pointed out, one will remain at a loss to understand other differences surely to be encountered if one stays to work in the area. On the other hand, if one has some knowledge of the system of beliefs, on meeting strange customs one can reason from the general to the particular and at least gain an ounce of understanding. In this sense it is more important to know Chinese culture when among the Vietnamese or Indian culture in Burma, Thailand, and Laos than to have many odd bits of information about the Vietnamese or Thai.

Religious ideologies or traditions are too often neglected in studies of Asiatic and North African peoples. Political problems there are also almost invariably questions of religion. The religions of these areas have been noteworthy blocks to communist expansion. The Soviets, in cutting away Russian redemption mysticism with communist atheism and materialism, also cut off important affinities with Asiatic religions. Soviet policies, both domestic and foreign, have been characterized by numerous awkward gyrations due to this one fact

alone. In the Moslem Middle East which has occupied Soviet attention much longer than Southeast Asia the success of communism has been much smaller--again largely due to religious incompatibility as well as to the special conservatism of Islam whose outlook is, as Grunebaum puts it, that changes will be for the worse.

Obviously, the field researcher should not take the existence of a democratic constitution to signalize the existence of democratic practices and habits of thinking. In Asia the traditions of the autocratic and theocratic monarchy of the ruler as the intermediary between man and the Universe, of State paternalisms, State monopolies, and forced labor have long roots. Democracy among the indigenous institutions of Asia appears rarely and only in local communities. Modern Asiatic republics all veer toward personal government in practice. The belief in personal intermediacy has origin in the traditional Asiatic state, the absolute monarchy, a mystical connection between the state and the principles of the cosmos that are its model, effected through the personal link of the monarch. In Islam the ruler is the successor to the political authority of the Prophet or the representative of a successor. In Confucianism he bears the Mandate of Heaven with its accompanying duty of preserving the harmony of nature through proper conduct. In the Buddhist monarchy the intermediacy of the ruler is worked through the deeds of past lives and the personal mission of universal salvation. In Hinduism the monarch is the symbol or incarnation of the Dharma. The absence of a tradition of private ownership and enterprise in Burma, for example, reflects the Hinayana concept of kingship. In 1933 when the Siamese politician Luang Pradit drew up a scheme of a state-controlled, planned economy he referred to the expected coming of the future Buddha. He

himself was no Buddhist mystic but an economist trained in France. Among Oriental peoples generally one finds--apart from westernized native leaders--the mythical expectation of a miraculous hero who will change fate. A most durable official attribute of the ruler in Islam is that of "savior." And in European-dominated colonies generally, the liberalism and democracy that transformed Europe after World War I were never voluntarily or effectively introduced by mother countries. Accordingly there, too, the field man should not take fervid democratic pronouncements by native leaders to signify that the populace is equally fervid.

The Westerner's difficulty in understanding the rules of behavior and the virtual impossibility of his being accepted as part of the culture make further study of native ruling groups imperative. Almost exclusively, native leaders are the ones today who--if anyone can--stir the enthusiasm of their peoples. What is expected of native rulers by the rank-and-file and what the rulers in their leadership expect of the rank-and-file are questions whose answers vary greatly. Frequently the native ruling group is expected to have and does have a different code of behavior from its rank-and-file. Those Westerners who, even though reared in the knowledge of Machiavelli, apply unconsciously the norms of their own society to Asian and African elites may be in for rude surprises. In Burma arson, murder, and looting are common and do not cause crises of conscience. How much the custom carries over into a political sphere of assassination and fraud is an interesting question.

Fortunately many leaders have been exposed to Western education so that it is possible for the field man, if not to communicate with them, at least to talk with

them. More studies of educational background are needed (see e.g. the table of universities attended by leaders in R. North, Kuomingtang and Chinese Communist Elites, 1952, p. 51). The possession of a Western European education, however, does not necessarily mean the pupils will look with love on their masters. French colonial authorities tried in vain to prevent Annamese students from going to study in France where they might be affected by French radicalism. In this case, as elsewhere in Asia, Occidental intellectualism served as a vehicle of Marxian communism. French rule in Annam was undermined by French ideas. Attempts to preserve French rule by discouraging the assimilation of French culture (for example, Annamites in French Indo-China were once imprisoned for having translated into Annamese a speech of Léon Blum while Blum was in power) were foredoomed to failure. Assimilation had otherwise been the ideal of French colonial policy and French officials in Annam were not able to stop the spread of the French Revolution. This was not of course the only reason for the Vietnamese revolution, but it illustrates the danger of relying upon the existence of liberal ideals in native classes who have been educated in the West.

Possibly at this point the sociological and anthropological concept of acculturation becomes most helpful. European history adequately covers the vicissitudes of ruling groups in the passage from feudal to industrial times. To open an avenue to the non-Western struggle for rulership the idea of culture contact can be used. In such an approach the West becomes the center of an irradiating culture which has industrialism and technology as principal parts of its focus and which has tremendous powers of attraction and penetration. Analysis of the acculturation of native elites

might make use of concepts like "transculturation" which makes it harder to forget that Western nationals in the areas are themselves changed by their contact with new cultures; and like "neo-culturation" to keep in mind that it is not merely a process of borrowing or exchanging but also one of creating new ideas, new institutions and artifacts. Research would take into account the duration and intensity of the native elite's cultural contacts and its ideas of the dominance, prestige, complexity, and morality of the foreigner's material and non-material culture. Research would also devise checkpoints for the development of contra-acculturative elites and movements such as the rise of organized labor movements in Africa, and take constant sounding of those native groups who are apt to fear their culture is in danger of submergence or who may in other ways be spurred to lead native revivals.

One factor of utmost importance in dealing with native elites is that of race or color. Over almost all the world the independent nations are Occidental and Caucausoid cultures whereas the colonials are Oriental and "primitive," Mongoloid and Negroid. The colonial areas and virtually all dependent peoples fall in the color patches of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. This suggests using the kind of research that sociologists have elaborated in studying interracial contacts in southern United States, particularly as regards such concepts as social distance. One should think twice though about carrying over such studies without major change in their conception. The complexities and differences in color contacts around the world are enormous. One can point to the diverse modes of contact between white and colored elites in British and in Portuguese colonies.

The picture of dependent peoples all over the world reveals nu-

merous native elites under strong cross-cultural pressures. To illustrate the complexities of the situation even at the risk of oversimplification, the position of many native westernized elites in colonies is something like this: The intellectuals demand the fulfillment of the programs they learned from the West--national independence and political democracy--in which they can emerge as the natural leaders of the country. The moment then arises when the mother country has to decide either to support the rising native group by giving it more power and freedom or suffer the danger of letting it look for and accept support elsewhere. When the interests and fears of the mother country withhold the granting of independence or of electoral democracy in the colony, the frustrated ambitions of this class makes it an ally of a communism that combines the class struggle with the fight for national emancipation. Similarly with the rising middle class, including the new native industrialists who believe their development to be hamstrung by the economic controls of the governing European power: the common struggle against colonial rule leads them to underestimate the aims of communist agitation. Add to this the usual problem of the breakup of land-holding patterns brought about by the colonial power, leading to landlessness and indebtedness in an area under the cultural impact of industrialization and ideas of constitutional government; and so forth.

In almost every case the scene shows a triangular interaction of (1) the native elite, (2) the officials of the dominant European power, and (3) a local, Soviet communist contingent. Added to this are the representatives of the American government, the diplomats, soldiers, and others, who should have learned something of the area from anthropology as well as from the other social sciences. All available studies done

on new or rising ruling groups--conquerers over conquered, industrial within feudal, business within labor--become relevant in studying this phenomenon. To the theoretical framework of these studies must be added the complicating factor of race. The problem of the observer is not only to calculate the respective strength

of each struggling nucleus but also to estimate the force of cultural contacts on the fusion, elimination, and persistence of ruling and aspiring groups in a volatile situation.

--Sebastian de Grazia
The Twentieth Century Fund

12. Consensus and International Political Integration

There seems to be a widely-held notion today that any discussion or research directed toward the political strengthening of the United Nations is an essentially fruitless enterprise. Basically, this position appears to stem from the assumption that the world is deeply divided--in bi-polar terms by the Soviet-Western schism, and into a multiplicity of suspicious, parochial blocs by the staggering diversity of races, cultures, nations, and belief-systems. That the world is divided cannot be denied. But in emphasizing that there exists a dramatic lack of community, "togetherness," or consensus, we have so far failed to clarify the meaning and implications of this concept. What is consensus, and what are its primary and secondary components? How much of what sort of consensus exists today, and is it on the rise or decline? How much consensus is actually required before certain institutional improvements may be made in the United Nations system? Finally, if, as assumed, there does exist a wide disparity between the present and the requisite consensus levels, how can it be narrowed or bridged?

It would appear that any thorough examination of the consensus-integration relationship calls for an effort to answer the four sets of questions posed above. This brief survey represents an attempt to offer a conceptual frame-

work within which such answers might be sought. In effect, it is also a tentative refinement and extension of the crucial problem area delineated by Van Wageningen in his provocative and valuable monograph for the Center for Research on World Political Institutions.¹

I. The Anatomy of Consensus

The continuing rough and imprecise use of this concept seems to have led students of international politics into a web of misleading over-simplifications, and until the elusive notion has been more firmly identified, the study of international organization will tend to suffer from confusion. Thus, its analysis into logically defensible and empirically reliable components must be the first step, and one of the more promising devices would be to ask what conditions and operations the various disciplines seek to isolate when they examine a given social situation from their diverse vantage points.

When the psychologist, for example, refers to the presence of a consensual situation, what attributes does he assign to it? Is it a vague and amorphous state of affairs, or are there certain specific and concrete factors which add up to different levels of consensus in inter-personal relations? For instance, he might compare the degree of similarity

1. Research in the International Organization Field: Some Notes on a Possible Focus, Princeton, 1952.

with which his subjects perceive the same "reality," or the way they respond to identical questions or other stimuli. On a somewhat higher level of generalization, the social psychologist or the sociologist seeks to identify and categorize the elements which point to inter-group consensus; this may, for example, be in terms of such phenomena as reaction to newcomers, selection of leaders, or status-defining techniques.

Similarly, the anthropologist (assuming he perceives the existence of cultures other than that in which he may be immersed) has managed to identify many elements of similarity and difference when involved in cross-cultural studies. Perhaps, too, the non-comparative anthropologist can supplement the suggestions of sociology and social psychology by helping recognize the consensual elements which give cohesion to individual cultures. For example, what priority do the separate cultures assign to such values as compromise, leadership, material wealth, honesty, or even survival? How dependent are they upon the presence of a hostile out-group for the preservation of unity?

Thirdly, what features does the economist seek in delineating a viable regional, national, or global economy? Are common saving and investment patterns essential, and how is labor viewed? Must there exist a relative equality of technological development? What, in other words, does the student of economics identify as critical to the existence of consensus?

Finally, the political scientist, while perhaps less precise than the economist or sociologist, should be able to point up some of

the crucial elements in the growth and maintenance of the political community. Despite the lack of statistical precision in such studies, are there not certain implicit conditions and operations which characterize community, and certain consensual factors to which reference is had? What similarities in attitude and political practice are noted? What is the comparative role of the power elite; is decision-making an extra-institutional affair; what is the status of the politician; what techniques are successful in gaining office? An examination of the many studies in local, national, and comparative government ought to suggest a multitude of criteria which could be employed in identifying the level and trend of consensus.

Once these approaches² to consensus are examined separately, it will be necessary to synthesize them into some sort of specific and useful yardstick. Such a yardstick (or, more precisely, array of yardsticks) must meet two demands: it must provide us with explicit indices of consensus, and must enable us to measure both the strength and direction of these indices. It may also lead to the ability to rank the indices according to importance, and suggest the feasibility of substituting one for another.

II. The Consensus Level Today

Equipped with such a set of measuring tools, one may proceed cautiously to the second question: how much of what kinds of consensus is present in the world of today? Much of the answer should come from the materials studied in the definition and delineation problem, but additional areas may also prove fruitful. Attitude, personality, cognition and perception studies must be perused for both

2. Among the materials which should prove suggestive are those of Merton, Parsons, Allport, Whiting, the Kluckhohns, Myrdal, Tinbergen, Wallas, Wright, de Grazia, Deutsch, Eysenck and the Human Area Resource Files.

substance and technique. Considerable raw data exists, and need only be refined and processed; for example, scales identifying and measuring world-mindedness, xenophilia and xenophobia have already met with some success. Certain techniques may require only limited modification prior to their yielding of relevant and significant information. What pertains in the psychological and sociological field would also seem to be true in the anthropological field. There is probably already an adequate fund of data upon which to construct a reasonable comparison of the world's cultures in terms of those traits and value-systems relevant to international political integration. The economic aspects should prove to be even less of a problem, considering the relatively advanced stage of economic analysis and data collection; again, however, there is the matter of refinement and application. And finally, as suggested above, the political applications of global consensus may prove most elusive, but careful and precise description may provide an adequate substitute for concrete figures.

In a sense, this measuring phase of the study will be the most difficult one. Its success, of course, will be largely dependent upon the logic and precision of the tools, scales, and indices devised in the preliminary phase. This does not suggest, however, that the actual application of these devices will be without an alarming number of pitfalls.

III. History and the Requisite Consensual Level

Assuming that the diverse measuring and categorizing procedures have been intelligently and successfully applied, a third

phase of the project can be attacked.³ Among the multitudinous ways of viewing history, one may be more fruitful in this particular case--a chronicle of political integration and disintegration. A glance at the period from man's first efforts to form the family, to the impending federation of the British West Indies, suggests this common aspect. Do the successes and failures reveal any common presence or lack of the consensual elements suggested above? Why, for example, did the multi-lingual, multi-racial Swiss federation achieve so high a level of stability, and how does one explain the demise of the Persian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires? Why could one disparate group achieve political merger, while another experienced nothing but frustration? The search for common consensual factors, present or absent in varying degrees, rising and falling at varying tempos, may well offer a meaningful interpretation of the phenomenon of political integration, despite the very real importance of such other factors as location, climate, technology, or leadership. Fortunately, as a result of the Princeton project noted earlier, several such historical studies have already been made from this point of view. In addition, there is an abundance of material stemming from other historical viewpoints, which needs only to be re-evaluated from this consensus-integration vantage point. A careful perusal of these closed cases should give us a good idea of the nature and level of consensus essential to the successful development of the various types and degrees of international political integration.

IV. The Generation of Consensus

If the widely held views referred to at the outset are correct,

3. Obviously, no comprehensive study can be so neatly parcelled into stages of this sort. For example, historical cases would be examined for clues as to what sort of categories and indices might be employed in phase one.

phase three, above, should reveal a marked disparity between present and requisite levels of consensus. The problem then becomes one of closing the gap (assuming the merit of effective international political organization) by the application of a wide variety of techniques. With the acceptance of the "engineering of consent" as both ethical and feasible, few should question the use of similar techniques in order to help achieve a higher degree of world consensus on a wider range of problems and issues. In this phase, such direct efforts as the numerous UNESCO projects, cultural exchanges, preachments on brotherhood, church missionary, and similar activities might be scrutinized. It may be that the direct, hortatory approach is the path to world community. However, on the possibility that such is not the case, several other approaches will be examined from the standpoint of both theory and fact. Perhaps the step-by-step "functional approach" will suggest real possibilities. It might even be worthwhile to look at the notion of "inevitability," to see whether the best way of reaching the goal is to minimize interference with the ineluctable historical process as man proceeds on his long journey

toward one world.

Finally, it ought not be ignored that any efforts at the generation of consensus may well founder on the rocks of national security, a security sought by recourse to alternatives other than a non-existent world political organization of real capacity. With the state and its leadership able to rely on power, and power alone, for protection from aggression, attention must be directed toward the maintenance of the crucial bases of that power. Among these power bases, one of the more decisive is that of the willingness of a national citizenry to accept the sacrifices of preparedness. These in turn cannot be made palatable to a people basking in the complacency of world brotherhood; the image of hostility and threat must be maintained. If, in the name of state security, consensus and community are to be frustrated, we may well have to develop new techniques of security even prior to the achievement of the world community and its underlying consensual girders.

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13. A Central Personnel Service for the Social Sciences

It is proposed to establish a Central Personnel Service for the Social Sciences and Foreign Area Studies. This service will perform two major functions: build and maintain a locator-index (roster) of social scientists; and create a market place for social science skills, where organizations and individuals, respectively, may find personnel and job opportunities.

The essential problem is the better use of scarce social science skills. A step toward its solution is more specific information about people and jobs, information which can only be gathered by continuous collection of market data. Such data is now only occasionally collected, usually over a narrow range of occupations. It is not maintained continuously in a manner useful to either organiza-

tions or individuals for recruitment or job hunting purposes.

In any national emergency, with occupational information in the social sciences so scarce, fragmentary and desultory, the present confusion promises to become chaos. Persons who could be valuable in critical positions will be unidentified and unidentifiable. Even now, crash programs impose multiple demands on the few, and many assignments vital to the national interests remain unfilled.

Structure:

It is proposed that the Central Personnel Service be a non-profit, fee-charging agency, closely linked to its users; *i.e.*, to both employing organizations and to the social science societies as representing individual social scientists. A board with a membership drawn from the social science societies, government, private enterprises and voluntary organizations will constitute its governing body.

Its staff will consist of a small group of highly trained people, each with a background in one or more of the social science disciplines, and with personnel competence. This staff will be supplemented in particular specialties by panels of distinguished consultants drawn from various disciplines.

Functions:

1. Assemble, maintain, and use for recruitment and referral, an index of persons trained and experienced in the social sciences and their applications.

2. Create an organized market place through which the distribution of social science skills may be effected by enlarging the number of choices of the buyers and sellers, rather than by the exercise of controls or administrative direction. (a) Constitute a recruitment and screening re-

source for government agencies, private businesses and voluntary organizations requiring personnel with social science backgrounds.

(b) Counsel and refer highly trained and experienced individuals to jobs using their capacities, affording them the widest possible job alternatives.

3. Serve as a collection point for specific data on supply and demand for social science skills and their utilization.

4. Promote wider application of the social sciences by constituting a communication channel for knowledge about their utilization in operational and managerial situations.

Inadequacy of Existing Functions:

For many years the social science societies have struggled to perform a modicum of personnel services for their members and employing organizations other than academic institutions. At best this function can be but an adjunct to their major purposes. The societies lack the financial resources and the staffs lack the personnel orientation necessary to good counseling and placement. In any case, multiple and separate placement services by the several societies create problems of coordination and raise aggregate costs of marginal services rendered. This approach, furthermore, suppresses the recognition of the interdisciplinary requirements in fields where artificial boundaries between disciplines already constitute a major handicap.

Among government agencies, the Federal Civil Service Commission, Department of Defense, U. S. Information Agency all report the disadvantages of using mass media to recruit specialized personnel. Such methods have, indeed, often attracted so many unqualified candidates that public relations problems have been created by these expedients.

TABLE I

SOCIAL SCIENCE SOCIETIES
SUMMARY OF EXISTING OCCUPATIONAL DATA AND PERSONNEL
ACTIVITIES

Society	Member- ship	Est. No. of Prof.	% Non- Acad. Empl.	Personnel Serv. Performed	Budget
Adult Ed. Assn.	2,000	?	73%	Informal Referral Directory	Nil
Amer. Econ. Assn.	8,400	15,000 ^{1/}	45% ^{2/}	Directory; Conven. Empl. (USES) Journal Ads	Nil
Amer. Hist. Assn.	6,700	7,000 ^{1/}	21% ^{2/}	Directory Registry	\$500
Amer. Psych. Assn.	4,000 ^{3/} (16,000)	22,000 ^{1/}		Directory; Conven. Empl. Booth; Jour- nal Ads; Job Bulle- tin (monthly); Ros- ter (NSF)	\$10,000
Amer. Pol. Sci. Assn.	6,400	Less than 10,000 ^{1/}	40% 5% Bus.	Directory; Job Bulletin; Resume File	\$2 Regis. fee to general funds
Amer. Soc. for Public Admin.	4,800		76%	Directory Persl. Exchange Journal Ads	\$10,000 (PACH)
Amer. Socio. Society	5,300	5,000 ^{1/}	25% ^{2/}	Directory Job Bulletin (inter- mittant)	Nil
Amer. Statis. Assn.	5,320	15,000 ^{1/}	80% ^{2/}	Informal; Conven. Empl. (USES)	Nil
Econo- metric Society	1,800	?	No info.	Directory; Conven. Empl. (USES)	Nil
Indus. Re- lations Re- search Assn.	1,800	?	No info.	Directory; Conven. Empl. (USES)	Nil
Soc. for Applied Anthro.	1,500	1,000 ^{1/}	No info.	Informal only	Nil
	^{1/} Latest BLS Occupational Outlook, 1956 data ^{2/} ACLS' Study, 1952 data. ^{3/} NSF estimate of those classified as Social Scientists.				

Diffuseness of corporate de-
mand for social science skills,
even in the largest firms, does

not warrant their organizing re-
cruitment mechanisms parallel to
those for recruiting technical

personnel. Problems of filling key social science positions do, however, warrant their willingness to pay fees to a central agency for market information, recruitment and screening of candidates. Present practices either involve allocation of top management men to recruitment cruising or reliance on the highly unreliable grapevine.

Private employment agencies and executive search consultants are unlikely to allocate the investment required to collect and maintain data on an adequate scale, and even if they did, the advantage of a single central file would be forfeited.

Progress to Date:

This proposal has grown out of two conferences held in Washington on February 27th and in New York on March 5th, and attended by men and women discharging key responsibilities in government, industrial corporations, university graduate schools and non-profit organizations. An Executive Committee, now at work, was set up to formulate a specific structure and financial requirements for the proposed service.

--Mary Electra Robinson
Washington, D. C.

14. The New York Metropolitan Region Study Program

The Metropolitan Region Study Program in the Department of Public Law and Government of Columbia University began in September, 1957. The program is under the supervision of Professors Wallace S. Sayre, David B. Truman, and Richard E. Neustadt. William N. Cassella is serving as administrative officer for the program. Supported by a five-year grant from the Ford Foundation, the program has the following primary purposes:

1. The training of a group of young political scientists in the political and governmental processes of metropolitan areas in the United States, using the New York Metropolitan Region as a laboratory;
2. The development of a body of knowledge about the New York Region, based on research by those associated with the program; and the development of more general hypotheses and methodology for the study of government and politics;
3. The sharing of information, hypotheses and methodology with scholars and students interested in American metropolitan problems, through publication and by other means;
4. Assistance to officials and other leaders in the New York Metropolitan Region, by providing information and suggestions concerning issues and problems of public policy.

At the core of the program are the holders of pre-doctoral fellowships. These fellowships are of two types: fellowships with an annual stipend of \$2500, awarded to students beginning their first or second year of graduate study, leading to the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University; and fellowships awarded to graduate students who are at the dissertation stage. Some of the dissertation fellows, who will be working on New York Metropolitan Region subjects for their dissertation, may be candidates for the Ph.D. at other uni-

versities. A limited number of post-doctoral fellowships will also be included in the program.

The central goal of the whole program is the preparation of a group of young political scientists who will for a lengthy period thereafter devote attention in their teaching and research to American political and governmental problems, with special emphasis upon their urban manifestations. The purpose, to put it somewhat differently, is to train political scientists as such, whose competence in the metropolitan field will keep pace with its rising importance. The purpose is not to train narrow specialists in merely one aspect of American governmental and political affairs.

The research program is an integral part of the educational and training program; that is, the research program is regarded as serving the purposes of the educational and training program rather than separate purposes of its own. The research product of the program accordingly will consist primarily of seminar papers, masters' theses, doctoral dissertations and monographs resulting from post-doctoral research projects.

The research program will be concerned with the development of

hypotheses concerning the nature of metropolitan politics, with methods of empirical inquiry for testing these hypotheses, and with the building of generalizations concerning metropolitan governmental and political institutions. It will be built around a broad integrating theme: the nature of the institutions for, and the forces supporting or disrupting, coordinated decision-making in the region. The research program will not try to produce a comprehensive "mapping" or inventory of the whole range of political and governmental institutions and processes in the New York Metropolitan Region (at least not in the earlier stages of the research program). The other extreme--a series of random and discrete research efforts--will also be avoided.

Although the program is not a project in group research, it provides a continuing opportunity for consultation among fellows and faculty on the research plans and findings of the individual fellows. Each fellow thus has the benefit of the constructive criticism of others working in the same field who may have different viewpoints and areas of special interest.

--William N. Cassella
Columbia University

15. REVIEW: Proxy Contests for Corporate Control

Edward Ross Aranow and Herbert A. Einhorn
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.)

This 555-page technical book on a decidedly political subject cites not a single work by a political scientist. It draws no analogy with the political process. And, to tell the surprising truth, it suffers badly as a result. Consider the major plot of the book: Insurgents desire to take over leadership of a corporation. They hire a staff, propose candidates, and campaign for their election among the voters and vote manag-

ers (i.e., brokers). Their campaign is conducted under rules of the SEC, State laws, and the rules of stock exchanges; these laws and rules are often unclear and may impinge upon civil liberties. On election day (the meeting) the proxies are counted and fought over by the several "watchers" and "judges of elections" (inspectors). In the end, "To the victor belongs the spoils"; campaign expenses of the winners find

a way of being paid out of the corporate treasury; if insiders have sided with a losing management, they are likely to be fired; corporate policies benefit ing both the victors and their principal supporters are likely to ensue. At least one law suit is likely to occur during every contest. How could a story be more political? The broad plot suggests only a few of the many points of resemblance.

In preparing this pioneering but sheerly descriptive work, the authors faced some of the problems of the writer on the American party system: how to take account of forty-nine different jurisdictions and laws (the Federal law and the New York State law provide most of the legal materials); how to discriminate the least from the most important details in a process composed of a thousand details, any one of which may become suddenly all-important in the unique case; how to find enough behavioral data on the elections to draw generalizations.

Political scientists have long known that they concentrate excessively upon the obvious, formal government. Here is just one more proof of the thesis. The government of corporations, like that of labor unions, churches, and other groups, is too close to political science, particularly in this century, to be ignored. The New York Central Railroad proxy struggle cost over \$2,000,000. There were 41,000 shareholders (voters), 100,000 employees, and \$2,656,000,000 of assets involved. That is, its politicians paid out far more per vote, it possessed twice as many employees, it owned slightly more assets, and it had far fewer voters than the State of Illinois. Messrs. Aranow and Einhorn have introduced a handbook that is as useful to the proxy politician as the annotated State election code is to the political campaign manager. But a theoretical account of corporate (and association) government by a political scientist is still needed.

--Alfred de Grazia

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17. ET AL.

IBN KHALDUN:
Scholars and Politicians

Scholars are of all men those least fitted for politics and its ways. The reason for this is that they are accustomed to intellectual speculation, the search for concepts, and their abstraction from sens-data and clarification in the mind. All these operations aim at attaining the universal aspect of things, not those particular to their material content, or to a person, generation, nation, or particular class of men. They then seek to apply these universal concepts to external objects; moreover, they judge things by analogy with similar things, as they are accustomed to do in jurisprudence. Their judgments and views, then, remain purely speculative and do not seek to conform themselves to things until after the thought process is complete.

Moreover, they do not, in general, seek to make their thoughts conform to external reality but rather deduce what ought to exist outside from what goes on in their minds. Thus jurisprudence is built upon texts memorized from the Koran and Tradition and seeks to make outside things conform to its norms, unlike the positive sciences whose validity depends on their conforming to the outside world. In brief,

they are accustomed to base their views on speculation and ratiocination, and do not know any other method of approach.

Now those who engage in politics must pay great attention to what goes on outside, and to all the circumstances that accompany and succeed an event. For politics are tortuous and may contain elements which prevent the subsumption of a given event under a universal concept or maxim or its comparison with another similar event. In fact, no social phenomenon should be judged by analogy with other phenomena, for if it is similar to them in certain respects it may yet differ from them in many others. Hence men of learning, who are accustomed to generalizations and the extensive use of analogy, tend, when dealing with political affairs, to impose their own framework of concepts and deductions on things, thus falling into error--hence their unreliability.

The same is true of the sharper and more brilliant men of the world, who because of their quick wits tend to behave like men of learning in their search for concepts and in their use of analogy. The ordinary sound man of average

intelligence, however, whose mind is unaccustomed to such speculation and incapable of practicing it, judges each case on its own merits and every category of men or of things according to its own peculiarities, avoiding analogies and generalizations and only rarely departing from the material, sensible aspect of things, like the swimmer who hugs the shore when the sea is rough, as the poet said:

"Do not go far when swimming/
For safety lies near the shore."

Hence such persons have sound views on political questions and right ways of dealing with their fellow men and therefore succeed in their careers....

--From the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406)
(Issawi trans.)

18. EDITORIAL: Missiles and Missals

Recent shooting in Space demonstrates a perhaps temporary ascendancy of the Soviets in the missile Olympics. The Russian feat was also exemplary propaganda of the deed. Many people have been seized by panic and are running pell-mell into the arms of the foe.

A natural science priesthood is being convoked to counsel the Congress, rewrite the Budget, explain to the Press, recruit scientists at school assemblies, and model for collar ads. The news lately teems with suspect proposals regarding civil liberties, taxes, property, education, and freedom of work--all justified in the name of Sputnik. The mechanistic, quantitative, technocratic mania that lurks in the American culture is once more loosed.

But the missal of science may only bring more missiles. "Bol-shevizing" our schools, our economy, and our government will only make us the second strongest communist power, in place of China. We still know more about the atom, have a superior social science, possess a mightier technology, and embrace--even though sometimes uncomfortably--an ethical doctrine more worthy of man. Reinforcing and reforming

our diversified cultural front may sooner bring us to world leadership.

To this end, there is work for all. But political scientists might also offer their special competences to the resolution of the short-run problems exposed by Sputnik. For instance they might study the history of satellite and missile policy for a better answer to what, if anything, hampered various early solutions. They might organize to assess the comparative rates of new achievement in numerous fields of American and Soviet endeavor. They might initiate a total analysis of the organization and strategy of the American propaganda and economic programs abroad. They might especially study the kinds of intelligitizing and operative groups that the nation needs: that is, they should aid what Graham Wallas called "the organization of thought" and "the organization of will" in our country. Individual political scientists need not wait for distant, formal, and official measures in order to act. Almost any American community would appreciate an interdisciplinary and interprofessional group that would provide an appraisal and recommend a program on science, politics, and the economy.

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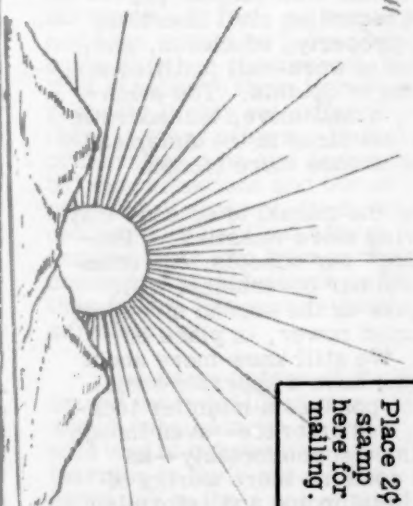
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